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### BYZANTINE SEALS FROM THE *RAS FORTRESS*\*

In this paper, seals found at the location of the *Ras fortress (Tvrđava Ras)* have been published. Inscriptions on these seals show that they used to belong to persons which could be identified with certain military commanders who served under Alexios I Komnenos. The seals in question are: the seals of *protonobelissimos* Eustathios Kamytzes, Constantine Dalassenos Doukas, *protoproedros* and *doux* Constantine Kekaumenos and a certain person called Alexios.

*Keywords:* seal, Alexios I Komnenos, Nicholas Synesios, Eustathios Kamytzes, Constantine Dalassenos Doukas, Constantine Kekaumenos.

The number of published seals found on medieval sites in Serbia does not even come close to the significance of this territory in the provincial organization of the Byzantine Empire. Owing to the efforts of Ljubomir Maksimović and Marko Popović, the findings from Serbia, which are kept in the collections of the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade and in the National Museum in Belgrade, have been systematically published.<sup>1</sup> Most of these seals originate from Braničevo – one of the main strongholds of the Byzantine Empire on the Danubian frontier.<sup>2</sup> The findings based on the sigillographic material found in Sirmium are particularly important, despite the fact that they have yet to be fully examined.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lj. Maksimović – M. Popović, Les sceaux byzantins de la région danubienne en Serbie, SBS 2 (1990) 213–234 ; Lj. Maksimović – M. Popović, Les sceaux byzantins de la région danubienne en Serbie, SBS 3 (1993) 113–142

<sup>2</sup> M. Popović – V. Ivanišević, Grad Braničevo u srednjm veku, Starinar 39 (1989) 125–179.

<sup>3</sup> B. Ferjančić, Vizantijski pečat iz Sirmijuma, ZRVI 21 (1982) 47–52; Maksimović – Popović, Les sceaux byzantins, SBS 2 (1990) 213–234

On the other hand, the central and southern regions have yielded a comparatively small number of Byzantine lead bullae. The most important set includes four seals and a lead blank from the *Ras fortress*.<sup>4</sup> In the last few years, the number of seals discovered at the *Ras fortress* has increased. Among these, the most important discovery is the bulla of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos,<sup>5</sup> which – together with other, previously unpublished seals – gives further information about Byzantine activities in the Balkan interior in late 11<sup>th</sup> and early 12<sup>th</sup> century. Judging by the available sigillographic material, it would seem that Ras – as one of the major fortresses on the Serbo-Byzantine border – held great strategic importance in the imperial military system.

The scarce data about the *Ras fortress* and the surrounding area can be traced to the sixth century – to the reign of the Emperor Justinian I. The fact that this toponym originated in Late antiquity is confirmed by Procopius' mention of the toponym *Arsa*.<sup>6</sup> A region called *Rasa* (ῆ Ῥάση) has also been mentioned in *De administrando imperii*, where it denotes a border area between Bulgaria and Serbia.<sup>7</sup> Even though Constantine Porphyrogenetos did not specify within whose borders this area lay in the late ninth century (Serbian or Bulgarian), somewhat newer data indicates that the region was in fact located on Bulgarian territory.

The Byzantine Empire first conquered the *Ras fortress* during the reign of John I Tzimiskes (969–976), at the time when Russia and the Byzantine Empire fought in the Balkan interior to gain control over Bulgaria. The fact that the Byzantine Empire established its military hold on Ras at this time is confirmed by a seal belonging to a certain John, the *protospatharios* and *katepano* of Ras (τοῦ Ῥάσου).<sup>8</sup> It has been assumed that the Byzantine Empire occupied the wider area surrounding the fortress in the operations carried out in the early seventies of the tenth century. This thesis is supported by the *Chronicle of Dioclea*, which relates the activities of Tzimiskes' generals in the *province of Rascia* even after 971 – the year when the Emperor withdrew from the Balkan front.<sup>9</sup> No data has been preserved about the fate of Ras in the period which saw the renewal of the Bulgarian state under Samuel and his successors (976–1018), but there is no doubt that Ras became a part of the new Bulgarian empire. During the reign of Basil II (976–1025), after the reorganization of

<sup>4</sup> Lj. Maksimović, Olovni pečati vizantijskog porekla, in: M. Popović, Tvrđava Ras, Beograd 1999, 437–438.

<sup>5</sup> V. Ivanišević, Pečat cara Aleksija I iz tvrđave Ras, in: Vizantijski svet na Balkanu I, eds. B. Krsmanović, Lj. Maksimović, R. Radić, Beograd 2012, 57–64.

<sup>6</sup> Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia, ed. J. Hawry, vol. 4 (De aedificiis), Leipzig 1914 (1963), 120; Cf. J. Kalić, La région de Ras à l'époque byzantine, Géographie historique du monde Méditerranéen. Byzantina Sorbonensia 7, Paris 1988, 127–140; Popović, Tvrđava Ras, 37–46; J. Kalić, Stara Raška, Glas – Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka CDXIV knj. 15 (2010) 105–114.

<sup>7</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, transl. R. J. H. Jenkins, CFHB I, Washington D.C. 1967, 154.53; Cf. A. Loma, Serbisches und kroatisches Sprachgut bei Konstantin Porphyrogenetos, ZRVI 38 (2000) 96.

<sup>8</sup> Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art, 1, eds. J. Nesbitt – N. Oikonomides, Washington D. C. 1991, 33.1; W. Seibt brought into question the correct reading of the toponym Ras on the seal, BZ 84/85 (1991/2) 549; BZ 92/2 (1999) 765. For the scope and nature of Tzimiskes' military administration in the Balkan border regions, see: B. Krsmanović, The Byzantine province in Change (On the Threshold Between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Century), Belgrade – Athens 2008, 133–145, 185–186, 188–190.

<sup>9</sup> Gesta Regum Sclavorum I, ed. D. Kunčer, Beograd 2009, 116.7–10.

rule in the Balkans (after 1018/1019), Ras once again became a part of the Byzantine Empire, as confirmed by Basil's second *sigillion* issued in 1020 in the autocephalous Archbishopric of Ohrid. It is significant to note that this *sigillion* considers the bishopric of Ras as a former Bulgarian diocese, and not just starting from Samuel's reign, but as early as the reign of Emperor Peter (927–969).<sup>10</sup> The rank which Ras held after 1018/1019 in the military and administrative system of the Empire is not known, but it is worth mentioning the hypotheses about the identification of Ras and the surrounding area with the *strategos* of Serbia, as the extant seals suggest.<sup>11</sup> The administrative unit in question could have – presumably – existed approximately until the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century.

The reign of Alexios I Komnenos brought new dilemmas concerning Ras and its surrounding area. Namely, there is no data which would unequivocally confirm that the *Ras fortress* had indeed been in Byzantine possession during the reign of this ruler. For example, it is conspicuous that the letters of Theophylaktos of Ohrid do not mention Ras at all, but the *Notitia* 13, which dates from Alexios' time, states that the bishopric of Ras was a suffragan of the Church of Ohrid.<sup>12</sup> In addition to this, Anne Komnene, who gave detailed accounts of Alexios' conflicts with the Rascian *župan* Vukan (1091, 1093–1094), does not mention Ras in any of her writings. On the other hand, the *Chronicle of Dioclea* states that in the 1080s Bodin conquered Rascia, the region where – with his help – *župan* Vukan and his brother Marko established their rule;<sup>13</sup> however, the question remains whether the Byzantine border fortress became a part of Serbia at this time. The Serbian conquest of Ras is confirmed at a later date, during the reign of John II Komnenos (1118–1143). John Kinnamos relates the Serbian conquest and burning down of the Byzantine Ras (circa 1127–1129), which prompted the Emperor to punish Kritoplos, the commander of the fortress.<sup>14</sup> Recently found seals on the site *The Fortress of Ras* support the opinion that the Byzantine Empire

<sup>10</sup> H. Gelzer, Ungedruckte und wenig bekannte Bistümerverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche, BZ 2 (1893) 44–46. In the second *sigillion* issued in favor of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, Basil II three times insists on the continuity between the new church organization in the Balkans with the organization established during the reigns of Samuel and Emperor Peter: B. Krsmanović, O odnosu upravne i crkvene organizacije na području Ohridske arhiepiskopije, Vizantijski svet na Balkanu I, 28.

<sup>11</sup> Advocates of this view are: A. C. Moxov, К Cursus honorum Константина Диогена, Античная древность и средние века 27 (1995) 32–37; Lj. Maksimović, Organizacija vizantijske vlasti u novo osvojenim oblastima posle 1018. godine, ZRVI 36 (1997) 39–42; *idem*, Βυζάντιο και οι Σέρβοι τον 11<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα: ζήτημα εσωτερικής ή εξωτερικής πολιτικής της αυτοκρατορίας, in: Αυτοκρατορία σε κρίση. Το Βυζάντιο τον 11<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα (1025–1081), ed. V. Vlyssidou, Athens 2003, 81–85; P. Komatina, Srbija i Duklja u delu Jovana Skilice, ZRVI 49 (2012) 172–180. However, most scholars suggest that the theme of Serbia can be tied to Sirmium and the surrounding region. The *strategos* of Serbia is confirmed by at least two seals: V. Laurent, Le thème byzantin de Serbie au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, REB 15 (1957) 190 et n. 1; Catalogue of the Byzantine Seals, 34.1 (*patrikios* and *strategos* of Serbias, Constantine Diogenes); G. Zacos, J. W. Nesbitt, Byzantine Lead Seals II, Berne 1984, no. 628 (*protospatharios* and *strategos* of Serbia, Nicholas); I. Swiencickij, Byzantinische Bleisiegel in den Sammlungen von Lwow, Sbornik v pamet na prof. Petăr Nikov, Sofia 1940, 339–440 (no. 11: Constantine, *anthypatos*, *patrikios*, *doux* of Thessalonike, Bulgaria and Serbias). Serbia is also mentioned in a *sigillion* of Ljutovit, Vera von Falkenhausen, Eine byzantinische Beamtenurkunde aus Dubrovnik, BZ 63 (1970) 10–23.

<sup>12</sup> *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. J. Darrouzès, Paris 1981, *Notitia* 13, Appendix 2, 372.850 (846).

<sup>13</sup> *Gesta Regum Sclavorum* I, 162.19–23.

<sup>14</sup> Ioannis Cinnami epitome, ed. A. Meineke, Bonn 1836, 12.

held dominant (but perhaps not continuous) control over Ras during Alexios' reign. At this location, besides the bulla of Alexios I, we also found seals which used to belong to high-ranking military commanders of the Byzantine Empire. Prosopographical identification of these persons and their activities in the area surrounding Ras (and in the wider region of the Western Balkans) is not certain. However, it could be surmised that some of them were in office during the reign of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos; hence, the question remains if these commanders played a role in the Serbo-Byzantine conflicts of 1091 and 1093–1094 and in the renewal of the peace treaty in 1106. Also, we should allow for the possibility that some of these seals belong to the period of Serbo-Byzantine conflicts of 1127–1129, which broke out during the reign of Alexios' successor John II Komnenos.

### CATALOGUE

1. The seal of Emperor Alexios I
2. The seal of *protonobelissimos* Nicholas Synesios
3. The seal of *protonobelissimos* Eustathios Kamytzes
4. The seal of Constantine Dalassenos Doukas
5. The seal of *protoproedros* and *doux* Constantine Kekaumenos
6. The seal of the monk Christopher
7. The seal of Alexios
8. Anonymous seal
9. Anonymous seal
10. Lead blank

#### № 1. The seal of Alexios I

Obv. A bearded Christ is shown en face, sitting on a high-backed throne. Christ's head is nimbated. He blesses with his right hand, and holds the book in his left. Christ's feet rest on a dais. The inscription has not been preserved.

Rev. The Emperor Alexios I is shown en face, standing on a dais. The bearded emperor wears a crown adorned with prependoulia and is dressed in a divitision, torque and a loros draped across his left shoulder. In his right hand he holds a labarum which is resting on the ground, and in his left a globe with a cross. Only a few letters comprising the inscription which used to surround the image can today be discerned.

Weight: 20.5 gr; Diameter: 30 mm.

Date: 1081–1118.

Published: *Ivanišević*, Pečat cara Aleksija I, 57–64.

Analogies: Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art, 6, eds. J. Nesbitt – C. Morrisson, Washington D. C. 2009, 88.1–88.38; G. Zacos, A. Vegler, Byzantine Lead Seals I, Basel 1972, 101–102; W. Seibt, Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich. 1. Teil: Kaiserhof, Wien 1978, 27.

**№ 2. The seal of *protonobelissimos* Nicholas Synesios**

Obv. The bust of St. Nicholas; he is shown giving out blessings with his right hand and holding a Gospel book in his left.

.|N|I|K|O|. -A|O|S

[O ἄ(γ)ιος] Νικό[λ]αος

Rev. Inscription (eight lines).

...|O.ΘΕΙΤ.|CΩΔΟΝΛ.|ΝΙΚΟΛΑΨ|ΑΝΟΡΕΛΛΙ|CΙΜΩΤΩ|CΙΝΕCΙ|Ω

[+Κύριε β]ο[ή]θει τ[ῷ] σῶ δούλ[ῳ] Νικολάω (πρωτο)νοβελισσίμω τῷ Συνεσίω

Weight: 7.78 gr; Diameter: 20 mm.

Date: late 11<sup>th</sup> – early 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Published: *Maksimović*, *Olovni pečati*, 437–438, no. 3.

Analogies: Nicholas Synesios, *protonobelissimos*: I. *Jordanov*, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, vol. 2: *Byzantine Seals with Family Names*, Sofia 2006, 393–394; *Dumbarton Oaks* no. 55.1. 3307 and *Hermitage* no. M-9927.

Even though the narrative sources give no information on Nicholas Synesios, it is worth taking into account Anne Komnene's statements about a certain Synesios, a military commander close to Alexios I Komnenos, whose activities can be traced from 1087 to 1091.<sup>15</sup> Anne Komnene mentions one person with the name Synesios in the context of conflicts between the Byzantine Empire and the Pechenegs in the Balkans. She does not state the name, titles or the functions of Alexios' commander, but her data indicates that he was close to the emperor and that he enjoyed the protection of the emperor's relatives. On the other hand, sphragistic material found in the Balkans testifies to the existence of a person called Nicholas Synesios. There are at least three seals which testify to the fact that this person held the title of *protonobelissimos*. One of these seals originated in the Ras region. It was first published by Lj. Maksimović, who dated it approximately in the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century. The obverse depicts St. Nicholas (blessing with his right hand and holding the scepter in his left), while the reverse contains an inscription which – unfortunately – does not give any information about Nicholas Synesios as a *protonobelissimos*.<sup>16</sup> The hierarchical rank Nicholas Synesios held previously is confirmed by a seal which was probably found in South or South-eastern Bulgaria. The obverse again depicts St. Nicholas, while the inscription on the reverse shows that the seal owner, Nicholas Synesios, held the rank of *protoproedros*.<sup>17</sup> The publisher I. Jordanov dated the seal in the third quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The dating of these seals, as well as the geographical origin of the *bullae* which have so far been published, allow for the possibility of identifying Nicholas Synesios (*protoproedros* and later

<sup>15</sup> Annae Comnenae Alexias, eds. D. R. Reinsch, A. Kambylis, Berlin 2001, 218–219, 229, 249–250; cf. B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthèse*, Louvain 1980, 285–286.

<sup>16</sup> *Maksimović*, *Olovni pečati vizantijskog porekla*, no. 805; I. *Jordanov*, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, II: *Byzantine Seals with Family Names*, Sofia 2006, 393–394, states that there are two more unpublished seals belonging to Nicholas Synesios, on which he bears the same rank of honor – *protonobelissimos*: *Dumbarton Oaks* no. 55.1. 3307 and *Hermitage* no. M-9927.

<sup>17</sup> *Jordanov*, *Corpus II*, no. 687.

*protonobelissimos*) as the Synesios who, according to *Alexias*, participated in the Balkan conquests of Alexios I Komnenos. Even though Anne Komnene places the last of Synesios' activities in the aftermath of the Byzantine victory over the Pechenegs in the Battle of Lebounion (1091), this does not mean that his career ended after that year. The seal of *protonobelissimos* Nicholas Synesios from Ras, as well as the recently published seal of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos from the same location,<sup>18</sup> could perhaps be dated at a later time – in the period of Byzantine conflicts with the Rascian *župan* Vukan (1091, 1093–1094, 1106).

### № 3. The seal of *protonobelissimos* Eustathios Kamytzes

Obv. Standing figure of Virgin Hagiosoritissa

...ΘΥ|CO|PH|TH|C

(Μήτηρ) Θεοῦ [Ἡ Ἁγιο]σορητησ(σα)

Rev. Inscription (six lines)

+ΓΡΑΦΑ. | CΦΡΑΓΙΖ.. | ΛΟΓΥCΕΝC.. | ΘΙΘΑΝΩΡΕ. | ΛΙCΙΜΤΩ | ΚΑΜΙΤCΙ

Γραφ[ά(ς)] σφραγίζ(ω) [(καὶ)] λόγους Εὐσ[τα]θίου (πρωτο)νωβε[λ]ισίμ(ου)  
τῷ Καμ[ύ]τζη.

Weight: 16.53 g.

Date: end 11<sup>th</sup> – early 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Commentary: The seal was offered on the auction of the auction house Gorny & Mosch no. 109 (March 7<sup>th</sup> 2011) under the catalogue number 3191. The catalogue erroneously states the name of the owner as Εὐμαθίου. This reading was followed in the regular section on published in BZ 105.1 (2012), 503, no. 1839. The photograph of this seal before it was cleaned up clearly shows the inscribed letters ΕΥC or Εὐσ[τα]θίου.

Analogies: Eustathios Kamytzes, *protonobelissimos*: V. Laurent, La collection C. Orghidan, Paris 1952, no. 97. The obverse depicts Virgin's bust with a medallion on her chest. The reverse contains a five-line-long inscription: Μήτηρ Θεοῦ/Σφραγίς Εὐσταθίου πρωτονοβελισσίου τοῦ Καμύτζη. The threshold between the eleventh and the twelfth century has been suggested as a possible date (1100).

Eustathios Kamytzes was one of the high-ranking officers close to Emperor Alexios I Komnenos.<sup>19</sup> Anne Komnene has left numerous testimonies of his service, which was tied both to the East and the West of the Empire.

It is thought that the earliest information about him dates from 1083, the year when he was sent to Emperor Alexios I as the commander of a Turkish battalion of 7000 men.<sup>20</sup> In 1091/1092, he took part in the conspiracy of Gregory Gabras, the son of Theodore Gabras, *sebastos* and *doux* of Trebizond, which ended in miserable defeat

<sup>18</sup> Ivanišević, Pečat cara Aleksija I, 57–64.

<sup>19</sup> P. Gautier, L'obituaire du Typikon du Pantokrator, REB 27 (1969) 256–257; Skoulatos, Les personnages, 83–85; A. Gkoutzioukostas, Byzantine Officials in the Typikon of the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople, in: The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople, ed. S. Kotzabassi. Berlin 2013, 73–77; A. Gkoutzioukostas et A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt are preparing a prosopographique study: The origin and the members of the Kamytzes Family in Byzantium.

<sup>20</sup> *Alexias* 154.

of the conspirators. Gregory Gabras was captured, but was later pardoned and married to Maria, the daughter of Alexios I. Eustathios Kamytzes was exiled for a short while<sup>21</sup> – it is known that already in 1094 he attended the Council of Constantinople held at the Blachernae palace. At this time, he bore the titles of *proedros* and *chartoularios tou stavlou*.<sup>22</sup> Other news about him inform us that he campaigned in the East in 1098, and that John Doukas (the brother of Irene Doukaina) appointed him the *strategos* of Lampe.<sup>23</sup> In 1108, at the time of the second Norman invasion, he controlled the pass of Arbanon and was defeated by Guy, Bohemond's brother.<sup>24</sup> This is the only mention of his activities in the Balkans in Anne Komnene's writings. The next stage of his service took place in Nicaea: in 1113 he was the *doux* of Nikaia. He was defeated and captured while fighting Turks who besieged the city. However, he managed to escape and join the emperor in Damalis, who immediately sent him to Constantinople.<sup>25</sup> He returned to Asia Minor in 1116, at the time when Alexios I led his last campaign against the Turks.<sup>26</sup>

The gradual rise of Eustathios Kamytzes through the official ranks during the reign of Alexios Komnenos is well documented in written sources: from the title of *proedros* (late 1094),<sup>27</sup> he rose to the rank of *nobelissimos*,<sup>28</sup> and finally to the venerable title of *protonobelissimos*.<sup>29</sup> Kamytzes probably survived Alexios I, as he is mentioned as a deceased person in the *Typikon Pantocrator* (1136).<sup>30</sup> The last title he bore was *sebastos*, probably awarded to him by John II Komnenos.

#### № 4. The seal of Constantine Dalassenos Doukas

Obv. Inscription (three lines)

÷|ΓΡΑΦ..|ÇΦΡΑΓ.|ΖΩΚΩ|÷

Rev. Inscription (three lines)

.ΑΛΛΑ.|ÇΗΝΘΤΘ|ΔΘΚΑ

Γραφ(ᾶς) σφραγ[ί]ζω Κω(νσταντίνου) [Δ]αλασ(σ)ηνοῦ τ[οῦ] Δούκ[α]

Diameter: 17 mm.

Date: late 11<sup>th</sup> – early 12<sup>th</sup> century

Unpublished.

Analogies: *A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt*, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*. Teil 1, Einleitung, Sigellegenden von Alpha bis inklusive My. *Wiener Byzantinistische Studien* 28/1 (2011) 423a, b, c; *G. Schlumberger*, *Sigillographie de*

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.* 257. For the conspiracy of Gregory Gabras, see: *J.-C. Cheynet*, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance* (963–1210), Paris 1990, 95–96, no. 123.

<sup>22</sup> *P. Gautier*, *Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Étude prosopographique*, *REB* 29 (1971) 218, 259 (no. 42).

<sup>23</sup> *Alexias* 338.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.* 397–398.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.* 443–446, 448–449.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.* 470.

<sup>27</sup> *Gautier*, *Le synode*, 218.

<sup>28</sup> *G. Schlumberger*, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin*, Paris 1884, 548.

<sup>29</sup> *V. Laurent*, *La collection C. Orghidan*, Paris 1952, 60, no. 97.

<sup>30</sup> *Gautier*, *Typikon du Pantocrator* 240.56, 256–257. The most widespread opinion is that Eustathios Kamytzes died after 1118 and before 1136, *ibid.* 257; *Skoulatos*, *Les personnages*, 85 n. 12.

l'empire byzantin, Paris 1884, 651, no. 7; Б. А. Панченко, Каталог моливдовулов коллекции Русского Археологического Института в Константинополе, Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе IX, София 1904; К. Μ. Konstantopoulos, Βυζαντιακά μολυβδόβουλλα του εν Αθήναις. Ἐθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου, Athens 1917, no. 618 b; А.П. Каждан, Армяне в составе господствующего класса Византийской империи в XI–XII вв. Ереван 1975, 95, no. 13; В. С. Шандровская, Поправки и дополнения к «Каталогу моливдовулов» Б. А. Панченко, Византийский Временник 38, 1977, 112, no. 299: claims that there are three more seals belonging to Constantine Dalassenos Doukas in the Hermitage collection: Hermitage: no. M-6003, M-4579 and M-9338; Ch. Stavrakos, Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athens, Wiesbaden 2000, no. 5.

The identification of the seal owner, Constantine Dalassenos Doukas, is problematic. The *Alexias* mentions a certain Constantine Dalassenos, a general under Alexios I Komnenos, who was close to the emperor via his mother.<sup>31</sup> Owing to *Alexias*, his activities are documented well enough: he is most frequently mentioned in operations led in the Eastern part of the Empire, as a general who led military operations against Smyrna and Tzachas. However, like other distinguished commanders under Alexios, he also took part in the great struggle with the Pechenegs in the Battle of Lebounion (1091), where he – together with the emperor and George Palaiologos – commanded the Byzantine forces.<sup>32</sup> At the same time, this is his only activity in the Balkans that we know of Anne Komnene, however, never attaches the family name Doukas to this Constantine Dalassenos. The titles of Constantine Dalassenos are not known, except that he bore the rank of *protokouropalates*, as confirmed by one of the seals attributed to him.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, there are many seals which bear the name of Constantine Dalassenos Doukas, but none of them contain any information about his titles or ranks. Hence, the question remains whether Constantine Dalassenos Doukas mentioned on the seals can be identified as the Constantine Dalassenos from Anne Komnene's writings. J.-C. Cheynet has argued against this identification, claiming that the name in fact belonged to two different persons. In his opinion, Constantine Dalassenos Doukas, known to us only based on the seals, belonged to the Doukas family on his paternal side, but was related to the Dalassenos clan via his mother.<sup>34</sup>

#### № 5. The seal of *protoproedros* and *doux* Constantine Kekaumenos

Obv. The bust of St. Michael holding a sceptre in his right hand and a globe topped with a cross in his left.

Μ|Ι – .|Λ

Μι(χαή)λ

Rev. Inscription (five lines)

<sup>31</sup> *Alexias* 223. 95.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.* 247.

<sup>33</sup> J.-C. Cheynet, Trois familles du duché d'Antioche, in : J.-C. Cheynet – J.-F. Vannier, Études Prosopographiques, Paris 1986, 103, no. 19, Pl. V.37; Jordanov, Corpus II, 122: Collection Fogg 541.

<sup>34</sup> Cheynet, Études, no. 22.



+KERΘ|ΤΨCΨΔ. |ΚΩΝ ἈἈΕΔ.. |ΔΟΥΚΙΤΩΚ. |ΚΑΥΜΕ..

Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)[θ(ει)] τῷ σῷ δ[ού(λφ)] Κων(σταντίνφ) (πρω)τ(ο)(προ)έδ[ρ(φ)  
(καί)] δουκί τῷ Κ(ε)καυμέ[ν(φ)]

Diameter: 25 mm.

Date: last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century

Unpublished.

Analogies: Konstantinos Kekaumenos, protospatharios and protokankellarios: *V. Laurent*, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, 2: L'administration centrale, Paris 1981, no. 1158; Paris BN no. 1211; *O. Karagiorgou*, *Die Sigillographische Sammlung des Benaki Museums in Athen*, SBS 9 (2006) 43, no. 13858.

The person in question does not appear in any written sources. There is no doubt that when he was a military commander (*doux*), who was perhaps tied to the Balkans.

#### № 6. The seal of monk Christopher

Obv. The bust of Virgin Mary with a medallion.

+ΘΚΕΡΘ – ΤΨCΨΔ

Rev. Probably a saint standing.

ΧΡΗCΤΟΦΟΡΟΒ – .ΟΝΑΧΟΒ

+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δ(ούλφ) Χρηστοφόρου [μ]οναχοῦ

Weight: 7.78 gr; Diameter: 20 mm.

Date: – Second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century

Published: *Maksimović*, *Olovni pečati*, 437, no. 1.

#### № 7. The seal of Alexios

Obv. Inscription (three lines)

+|ΤΟΒ|ΑΛΕ|ΣΙΘ

Rev. Inscription (three lines)

ΔΘ|ΛΟΒ|Χ.Ṽ

Δούλου Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξίου

Diameter: 18 mm.

Date: last third of the 11<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century

Unpublished.

#### № 8. Anonymous seal

Obv. The bust of Virgin ?

Rev. A peacock with its tail spread out.

Weight : 7.84 gr; Diameter : 21 mm.

Date: 10<sup>th</sup> century

Published: *Maksimović*, Olovni pečati, 437, no. 2.

### № 9. Anonymous seal

Obv. The bust of St. George, holding a spear in his right hand

Θ|ΓЄ|Ω|Ρ-...

῾Ο (ἅγιος) Γεώργ[γιος]

Rev. The bust of St. Nicholas, giving out blessings with his right hand and holding the book in his left.

...-Α|Α|Ο|С

[῾Ο ἅγιος Νικό]λαος

Weight: 7.78 gr; Diameter: 20 mm.

Date: 12<sup>th</sup> century

Published: *Maksimović*, Olovni pečati, 438, no. 4.

### № 10. Lead blank

Weight: 7.78 gr; Diameter: 20 mm.

Date: late 12<sup>th</sup> century

Published: *Maksimović*, Olovni pečati, 438, no. 5.

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## ВИЗАНТИЈСКИ ПЕЧАТИ ИЗ ТВРЂАВЕ РАС

У раду су објављени печати који потичу са локалитета *Тврђава Рас*. Од десет печата четири представљају нове налазе (печат Евстатија Камице, Константина Даласина Дуке, Константина Кекавмена и извесног Алексија). Већина печата припадала је личностима које би се могле идентификовати са појединим војсковођама Алексија I Комнина, попут *iproironovelisima* Николе Синесија, *iproironovelisima* Евстатија Камице, Константина Даласина Дуке, а могуће и Константина Кекавмена, *iproioiproredra* и *дуке*.



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